1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1943, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

872 to drop out for a while, and have now returned to complete their schooling.

During 1958, there were fourteen other Hsin Hsing village children of school age—two boys and twelve girls—who did not attend the primary school. The girls had either not attended at all that year or had dropped out during the course of the school year. The number of students from Hsin Hsing not attending school is proportionally higher than the number from other villages in the Hao Hsiu primary school area. This is probably attributable to one or both of two factors: the impoverished condition of some families and the negative attitude of some parents toward the necessity of schooling, particularly for girls.

871 The economic factor is undoubtedly more important, especially in
872 Hsin Hsing village, which suffers most from a land scarcity. More of
85 the male adults, both young and old, must go to Taipei to work on at
[464] least a part-time basis. Consequently, the women must take a much greater part in cultivating and harvesting, which means that school age children must care for their preschool siblings. This applies mainly to girls in Hsin Hsing and helps account for the much larger number of girls not attending school. However, the negative attitude toward education also plays an important part in keeping children from school. The mother frequently feels this way about schooling because, unlike her husband, she has had few outside contacts or experiences to show her the value of education. However, to answer the social pressure to send their children to school, villagers who refuse to do so tend to use the economic factor to justify their actions. They point out that the child is needed at home to care for younger siblings while the mother works in the fields. And they add that "it is not important for girls to go to school and learn to read." Since village children are not required to wear uniforms in primary school, and since the cost of books and supplies is small, parents do not usually cite these expenses as a reason for keeping a child home from school.

872 Although primary school education is compulsory, parents who re-
871 fuse to send their children are not forced to do so. At the very most, the local school teacher may pay the family a visit and make a tactful attempt to persuade the parents to send the child. If they still refuse, the school drops the matter until the next year, when the personal request by a teacher is repeated.

871 Most villagers however, do realize the importance of education. While they feel that schooling is more necessary for boys, many also recognize its value for girls. Adult Hsin Hsing villagers, most of whom
[554] are illiterate, often say that "one suffers if one cannot read and write." It is generally the educated members of the village who are most

648 from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit
[631] head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.
[632]
[191] Many of the men but only a few women learned some
871 Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese
648 school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

648 Economically, there were many improvements. The
177 narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road.
[49] Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very
[316] narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin
[496] Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad
[245] improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about
[245] the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started
[242] to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques in-
[494] creased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of democratic participation in decision-making processes has increased. The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

As part of a war dispersal process, the government established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

To facilitate transportation to the Communication Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

171 linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred
186 years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese mi-
648 grated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwan-
[871] ese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the en-
[701] forced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools and the army (both of which are compulsory for males while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

000 The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357 (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940 Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,560,000 by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206). There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number of categories as is done regularly in the official records. With approximate official percentages listed for 1963, the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1), Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206). The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien, and minor numbers of others.

648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

648 829 Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a [871] major new market. Government policies are increasing edu- [702] cational opportunities. The universal military draft, in [582] addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military [204] obligations. A few villagers read the national news and [207] most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

872 Li families send a total of 423 students to school, over 98 per cent of the eligible residents in the li, with girls constituting a slight majority over boys.

871 The Sanlei school is not highly rated. During the first four years students attend only half day and the last two years only permit full days. Admission to junior high school in Taiwan is by competitive examination except for expensive private secondary schools. Successful completion of the examination usually requires six years of full day classes plus a considerable amount of evening classes and individual tutoring. Though illegal, the majority of island schools provide these extra programs for a fee. Talei's school does not and this is one of the reasons why the Mainlander children in Wulei travel to Hsin Tien to school.

871 Villagers do not yet fully believe in the efficacy
872 of education. They point out that most junior high graduates do not earn more money than elementary graduates. School teachers, for example, earn less than most miners and many farmers. For example, a rich farming family with four sons in T'oulei sent the youngest to college and he is now teaching in a Hsin Tien school. Although he brings some prestige to his family, his three farming brothers supplement his salary. In its history, Sanlei has had only one high school graduate and two junior high school graduates and only one of these graduates earns more

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875 money than an average farmer.

871 Taiwanese schools are rated comparatively like American universities. An important key to the quality rating is the percentage of graduates who take and pass the examination. It is this factor that makes the Talei school so low in rating.

Although education is essentially free, there are a number of fees such as those for the Parents' Association, various taxes, and school supplies although text books are provided without cost by the Ministry of Education. Fees total about $40.00 for the first and second grade, rising in steps to $60.00 for the sixth. Since an experienced farm laborer earns $50.00 per day, the fees are not really high but not inconsequential either, especially if there are many children in the family.

875 The local community has little influence on the selection of the school staff which consists of outsiders, primarily Mainlanders. Only two live in Talei Li while most of the others live in Pouti, a larger more sophisticated community. The staff tends to be an integrated group who feel greatly superior to villagers.

876 Relations with students are usually harsh and "secondary" rather than "primary," i.e., not intimate (Cooley, 1909). This relationship is considered proper by educator and villager alike. Indeed, according to villagers, a teacher must look and sound "fierce" if he

876 is to do an effective job.

871 There are ten officials of the Parents' Association, two from each village in the li. This unit is somewhat similar to the American P.T.A., but much more powerful for it raises money for school affairs such as additional class rooms by means of the previously described informal process. It is important for the school principal to have a good kan-ch'ing[5] (emotional relationship or feelings) with the Parents' Association.

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The procedure for electing Association officials contains many elements of traditional politics. Students bring home the list of candidates selected by a nominating committee of school and association officials. Each household rather than each individual has one vote, entered by stamping the family chop[6] next to the name of the desired candidate. Slips are returned to the school and counted by the committee. Thus, the ballot is not secret and choices are usually determined by consensus before voting begins. The association board meets at least once per month with the principal and periodically, there are open meetings for the entire membership.

876 Instructional methods are traditional, i.e., there is great emphasis on rote memorization with classes chanting lessons in unison. In traditional terms:

> the word education . . . in the Chinese language is not restricted . . . to the acquisition of

876 technical skills designed to make a living, but comprises the Renaissance idea of the "whole man," including moral behavior; attitudes towards fellow men, relatives, and country; public responsibility; and so forth (Suyin Han, 1966:97-8).

872 This is still an appropriate description of the local school curriculum. There is little emphasis on technical skills other than reading and writing as compared with the amount of time devoted to moral behavior and proper political ideology. Physical training--exercise and games--to develop the body are now included, particularly on Saturday mornings. The school has achieved some success in tag ball competition with other schools. The teams include both girls and boys for separation of sexes in school does not begin until the junior high level.

• 871 Interest in education is growing, now much stronger in the progressive li faction of Erhlei and T'oulei. The government is in process of implementing a plan for nine years of compulsory education and when it is promulgated, Talei Li children will attend in spite of the fact that villagers do not believe in the value of education for 829 most people. "When the government makes a decision one should smile and obey. To protest is as worthless as a mosquito biting a water buffalo's horn" (see Glossary C), was the statement of the old store owner, an important traditional leader, to a group of senior citizens when asked by one what should be done about the recent increase

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER VIII

THE LIFE CYCLE

121 Although the most general patterns will be abstracted below, it must be made patent that there is great variability in the life histories of individual villagers. China is a high civilization and a defining characteristic of a civilization is the existence of a large number of modal patterns of behavior. In addition to differences due to sub-cultural variation and individual personalities, there is structured variance related to wealth, sex, birth order, family type, etc. For example, the fact of an adoption would make a significant difference in an individual's life history and although not everyone is adopted, a sizeable minority of village children are adopted.

[178] Taiwan is experiencing great economic and political changes and these too are modifying traditional patterns of
121 the life cycle and its stages. Formal education furnishes
• 871 a prime example. Currently, two significant stages in the
882 life cycle are marked by entrance into the first grade, the pre-schooler versus the student and the next stage is marked by graduation at the end of the sixth year of school, the change from student to young adult status.

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

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Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Table 11. Percentage of Sanlei Villagers Who Graduated

Age in 1965	Year of Graduation	Percentage Graduating Male	Female
15-19	1960-64	96.7	87.6
25-29	1950-54	90.0	50.0
35-39	1940-44	66.7	22.2
45-49	1930-34	66.7	16.7
55-59	1920-24	50.0	10.0
65-69	1910-14	27.6	2.3

in school and satisfactorily progressing within one year of the normal grade for their respective ages.

The figures in Table 11 suggest the rate of change in education over time for Sanlei village by means of an analysis of current living residents in various age groups. In 1915, school was not really a significant stage in the life cycle for most villagers but by 1925, it was the most frequent (over 50%) pattern for males and by 1955, for females. By 1960, there remained scarcely any other pattern with reference to ages between 6 and 12 except to attend school. Actually, the current three exceptions are not a single structural type for each truant has a unique reason.

178 With reference to the stages to be discussed below, changes such as the above example have occurred in the memory of living villagers. In addition to those related to economics and education, important changes are connected with the population growth, increased life expectancy, and the availability of modern medical facilities including Western hospitals and birth control clinics.

513 comfort them.

855 When a child leaves his parent's bed, he does not sleep alone. There is a separation of sexes at this age so that a household has male beds and female beds and if there is no older adult such as an aunt or grandparent to join, two siblings of the same sex will be transferred to-
513 gether. The bed will be shared until marriage when the newlyweds start off just by themselves for one bed never contains more than one couple enjoying a sexual relationship. The married couple may sleep together the rest of their lives although some old people separate after intercourse ceases.

Education

871 Primary school is compulsory for six years to the degree that there were only three village children who were not attending school at the time of the study. The five villages in the li share the school located in Erhlei except that the Mainlanders in Wulei send their children to Hsin Tien. There are 423 students in the school, 204 boys and 219 girls.

895 The school has 12 teachers, a principal, and a janitor. The principal, a Mainland woman, and the assistant
[368] principal, also a Mainlander, share a house in Erhlei which is owned by the school. One teacher lives with his family in a rented Erhlei house but all the other teachers, most of them Mainlanders, live in Poutí or Hsin Tien. Six of the

875 thirteen staff members are males and seven, females.

871 875 The principal and teachers are appointed by the Provincial Ministry of Education with the local villagers having no choice in their selection. However, a degree of local control is maintained through the Parent-Teacher's Association which raises part of the money for school construction and equipment.

The qualifications of Talei Li teachers are below national average because an appointment in Talei Li is not a desireable post because of the few opportunities to earn extra income. In order for a student to go on to junior high school he must pass a competitive examination which is nearly impossible to accomplish without supplementary school lessons at night and individual tutoring. Although illegal, all good schools provide supplemental offerings for a fee and thereby, teachers earn a sizeable portion of their yearly income from these extra fees which are shared with the principal. The desire for higher education is not very strong in the village as most villagers do not believe that more education will produce opportunities for more income. Therefore, the li school has no such extra courses and few li children request extra tutoring, denying the teachers and principals the opportunity for a good income although a few of the teachers living outside Talei Li earn extra money tutoring in Pouti.

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

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562 operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei
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[288] which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[221] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

512 vacation period for the school alone marks significant
[871] changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village
[354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will
[514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if
[625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at
[515] 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen
[262] and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,